State Invaded.

His Inaugural---His Cabinet---St. Demingo.

A Vitriol Sketch of Crant's Antecedents, Acquirements, Tastes and Capacity.

CAN A SOLDIER BE A STATESMAN?

The Verdict of History, with Administrative Illustrations.

WHAT STANTON SAID.

"He Cannot Govern This Country."

A Gift-Giving Cabinet --- A Military Ring at the White House.

THE BAYONET IN ELECTIONS

Direct Interference with Local Politics.

The Defeated Aims of the Republican Party.

"I Stood by Its Cradle-I Will Follow Its Hearse."

WASHINGTON, May 31, 1872. The following is the speech delivered by States Senate to-day, in defence of his position as a republican, as assailed in the report of the French Arms Sales Committee, and against the pretensions of the President as a candidate for re-election. It occupied four hours in delivery :-

ORIGIN AND OBJECT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. Turning back to its birth I recall a speech of my own at a State Convention in Massachusetts, as far back as September 7, 1854, where I vindicated its principles and announced its name in these words:—"As republicans we go forth to encounter the oligarchy of slavery." The report records the applause with which this name was received by the excited multitude. Years of condict ensued, in which the good cause constantly gained. At last, in the summer of 1860, Abraham Lincoln was nominated by this party as its candidate for the Presidency, and here pardon me if I refer again to myself. On my way home from the Senate I was detained in New York by the invitation of party friends to speak at the Cooper Institute on the issues of the pending election. The speech was made July 12, and I believe was the carliest of the campaign. As published at the time, it was entitled:—"Origin, Necessity and Permanence of the Republican Party." And to exhibit these was its precise object. Both the necessity and permanence of the party were asserted. A brief passage, which I take from the

will show the duty and destiny I ventured then to hold up. After dwelling on the evils of slavery and the corruptions it had engendered including the purchase of votes at the polis, I proceeded as follows:—

purchase of votes at the polis, I proceeded as follows:—

Therefore, just so long as the present false theories of slavery prevail, whether concerning its character mornally, economically and sociality, or concerning its prerogatives under the constitution; just so long as the slave oligarchy, which is the sleeples and unhealtating agent of davery in all its precessions, continues to exist as a political power, the republican party must endure. (Applause.) It had men conspire for slavery, good men must compire for feedem, (Good, Rood.) Nor tan the holy war be ended undithe bariarism now dominant in the republic is over-thrown and the mann power is driven from our Jerusalem. (Applause.) And when the things is won securing the immediate object of our organization, the republic is over-thrown and the mann power is driven from our Jerusalem. (Applause.) And when the things is won securing the immediate object of our organization, the republication of the particle by it long contest with slavery, and filled with higher life, it will be litted to yet other chorts, with nother aims for the good of man.

Such, on the eve of the Presidential election, was my description of the republican party and filly assipiration for its future. It was not to die; but, purified by iong contest with slavery and filled with higher life, we were to behold it litted to yet other efforts and nobler aims for the good of man. There was nothing personal, nothing mean or petty. The republican party there was no death, but a higher life and nobler aims. And this was the party to which I gave my yows. But, alsa, how changed! Once country was inecessary and not a name only.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SEIZED BY THE PRESIDENT.

inseribed on the victorious banners and not a name only.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SEIZED BY THE PRESIDENT. It is not difficult to indicate when this disastrous change, exaiting the will of one man above all else, became not only manifest but painfully conspicuous. Already it had begun to show itself in personal pretensions, to which I shall refer soon, when suddenly, and without any warming through the public pross, or any expression from public opinion, the President, elected by the republican party, precipitated upon the country an ill-considered and ill-omened scheme for the annexation of a portion of the Island of St. Domingo, in pursuance of a treaty negotiated by a person of his own household, styling aimself aide-de-camp of the President of the United States. Had this effort, however injudicious in object, been confined to ordinary and constitutional proceedings, with a proper regard for a co-ordinate branch of the government, it would have soon dropped out of sight and been remembered only as a blunder; but it was not so—strangely and unaccountably. It was pressed for months by every means and appliance of power, whether at home or abroad, now reaching into the Senate Chamber and now into the waters about the island. Refuctant Senators were subdued to its support. While treading under foot the constitution in one of its most distinctive republican principles the President

SEIZED THE WAR TOWERS OF THE NATION, instituted foreign intervevtion and capped the climax of u-urpation by menace of violence to the black republic of Hayti, where the colored race have commenced the experiment of self-government; thus adding manifest outrage of international law to manifest outrage of the constitution, while the long-suffering African was condemned to new holignity. All these things, so utterly indefensible and aggravating, and therefore to be promptly discover, who was the original author of these wrongs, continued to maintain them and appealed to republican Senator, who feit it his duty to exhibit these plain violati Only.
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SEIZED BY THE PRESIDENT

SUMNER.

with his whole life, pleaded for the equal rights of the black republic, who declared that he did this as a republican and to save the party from this wretched conspiracy. This republican Senator, engaged in a patriotic service, and anxious to save the colored people from outrage, was denounced on this floor as a trailor to the party, and this was done by a Senator speaking for the party and known to be in intimate relations with the President guardianship of the African race. Too plainly it was becoming the instrument of one man and his personal will, no matter how much he set at deflance the constitution and instrumental law, or how much he heat at deflance the constitution and instrumental law, or how much he need the colored people. The President was to be maintained at all hazards, notwithstanding his aberrations, so revolutionary and unrepublican in character, I mean to be moderate in language and to be struck down. In exhibiting this antocratic proteins, so revolutionary and unrepublican in character, I mean to be moderate in language and to keep within the strictest bounds. The facts are indisputable, and nobody can deny the gross violation of the constitution and of international law, with the

with the whole case being more reprehensible, as also plainly more unconstitutions and more lilegal, than anything alleged against Andrew Johnson on his impeachment. Believe me, sir. I should gladly the property of the case of the independent of the content of the line of the case of the case

among us?" or that other question, "Have we a party in the Senate of the King's friends?"

FERSONAL GOVERNMENT UNREPUBLICAN.

Personal government is autocratic. It is the one man power elevated above all else, and is therefore in direct conflict with republican government, whose consummate form is tri-partite—executive, legislative and judicial—aach independent and coequal. From Mr. Madison, in the Federalist, we learn that the accumulation of these powers in the same hands may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny; and so any attempt by either to exercise the powers of another is a tyrannical invasion, always reprehensible in proportion to its extent. John Adams tells us in most instructive words that it is by balancing each of these powers against the other two, that the efforts in human nature toward tyranny can alone be checked and restrained and any degree of freedom preserved in the constitution. Then, again, the same authority says that the perfection of this great idea is by giving each division a power to defend itself by a negative. In other words, each is armed against invasion by the others. Accordingly, the constitution of Virginia in 1776, conspicuous as a historical precedent, declared expressly that the Legislative, Executive and Judiciary departments shall be separate and distinct, so that neither exercise the powers properly belonging to the other, nor shall any person execute the powers of more than one of them at the same time.

departments shall be separate and distinct, so that neither exercise the powers properly belonging to the other, nor shall any person execute the powers of more than one of them at the same time.

The constitution of Massachusetts, dating from 1780, embodied the same principle in these momorable words:—The legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judical powers or either of them. The executive shall never exercise the legislative and judical powers or either of them. The judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers or either of them—to the end that it may be government of laws and not of men is the object of republican government; nay more, it is the distinctive essence, without which it becomes a tyranny. Therefore personal government in all its forms, and especially when it seeks to sway the action of any other brunch or overturn its constitutional negative, is hostile to the first principles of republican institutions and an unquestionable outrage. That our President has offended in this way is unhappily too apparent. The President is a civilian. To comprehend the personal government that has been institutions and an unquestionable outrage. That our President has offended in this way is unhappily too apparent. The President is a civilian. To comprehend the personal government that has been institutions and an unquestionable outrage. That our President is the titular head of the army and navy of the United States; but his office is not military or naval. As if to exclude all question, he is classed by the constitution among civil officers; therefore, as a civilian is he to be seen. Then, perhaps, we may learn the secret of the polley so adverse fo republicanism in which he perseveres. To appreciate his peculiar character as a civilian it is important to know his rulmphs as a soldier; for the one is the natural complement of the other. The successful civilian. There seems an incompatibility between the two, modified by the extent to which one has been allowed to exclu

a philosopher devoted to inder i ideas no does not disguise that in antiquity "the most eminent soliders were likewise the most eminent politicians." But were likewise the most eminent politicians." But he plainly shows the reason when he adds that, "in the midst of the hurry and turmoil of camps these eminent men cultivate their minds to the highest point that the knowledge of that age would allow." The secret was culture not confined to war. In modern Europe few soldiers have been more conspicuous than Gustavus Adolphus and Frederick, sometimes called the Great; but we learn from our author that both failed ignominously in their domestic policy and showed themselves as short-sighted in the arts of peace as they were sagactous in the arts of war. The judgment of Mariborough is pointed, while protraying him as "The greatest conqueror of the age, the hero of a hundred fights, the victor of Elenheim and Ramillies," the same philosophical writer describes him as "a man not only of the most idle and frivolous pursuits, but so miserably ignorant that his deficiencies made him the ridicule of his contemporaries, while his politics were compounded of selfishness and treachery." Nor was Wellington an exception. Though shiring in the field without a rival, and remarkable for integrity of purpose, an unfluching konesty and high moral feeling, the conqueror of Waterloo is described as "nevertheless utterly unequal to the complicated exigencies of political life." Such are the examples of history; each with its warning. It would be hard to find anything in the native endowments or in the training of our chieftain to make him an illustrious exception. At least nothing of this kind is recorded. Was nature more generous with him than with Marborough or Wellington, Gustavus Adolphus, or Frederick, called the Great? Or was his experience of life a better preparation than theirs? And yet they failed, except in war. It is not known that our chieftain had any experience as a civilian until he became President; nor does any partiza

made

THE SAME MAN SOLDIER AND STATESMAN.

It has been often said that he took no note of public affairs, never voting but once in his life, and then for James Buchanan. After leaving West Point he became a captain in the army, but soon acandoned the service, to appear at a later day as a successful general. There is no reason to believe that he employed the intermediate period in any way calculated to improve him as a statesman. One of his unhesitating supporters, my colleague Mr. Wilson, in a speech intended to commend him for re-election, says:—"Before the war we knew nothing of Grant." He was earning a few hundred dollars a year by tanning hides in Galems. By the war he passed to be President. And such was his preparation to govern the great republic, making it an example to mankind. Thus he learned to deal with all questions, domestic and foreign, whether of peace or war, to declare constitutional law and international law, and to administer the vast appointing power, creating cabinet offices holders. To these things must be added that when this soldier first began as civillan he was

added that when this sodier first began as civilian he was

ALREADY FORTY-SIX YEARS OLD.

At this mature age—close on half a century—when habits are irrevocably fixed, and the mind has hardened against what is new—when the character has taken its permanent form, and the whole man is rooted in his own unchangeable individuality, our soldier entered abruptly upon the untried life of a civilian in its most exalted sphere. Do not be surprised that, like other soldiers, he failed: the wonder would be had he succeeded. Harvey was accustomed to say that nobody over forty ever accepted his discovery of the circulation of the blood; but he is not the only person who has recognized this period of life as the dividing point, after which it is difficult to learn new things. Something like this is embodied in the French saying—that at forty a man has given his measure. At least his vocation is settled—how completely is seen, if we suppose the statesman, after traversing the dividing point, abruptly changed to the Statesman. This shaden metamorphous cannot be forgotten, when he seeks to comprehend the strange pretensions which ensued. It is easy to see how some very moderate experience in civil life, involving of course the lesson of sub-ordination to republican principles, would have prevented indefensible acts.

TESTHONY OF THE LATE EDWIN M. STANTON.
Something also minst be attributed to individual

is easy to see how some very moderate experience in civil life, involving of course the lesson of subordination to republican principles, would have prevented indefensible acts.

TESTIMONY OF THE LATE EDWIN M. STANTON. Something also must be attributed to individual character; and here I express no opinion of my own. I shall allow another to speak, in solemn words echoed from the tomb. On reaching Washington, at the opening of Congress, in December, 1809, I was pained to hear that Mr. Stanton, lately Secretary of War, was in falling health. Full of gratitude for his unsurpassed services, and with a sentiment of friendship quickened by common poditical sympathies, I lost no time in seeing him, and repeated my visits until his death, towards the close of the same month. My last visit was marked by a communication never to be forgotten. As I entered his bedroom, where I found him reclining on a sofa, propped by pillows, he reached out his hand, already clammy cold, and in reply to my inquiry, "How are you?" he answered. "Waiting for my furlough." Then at once, with singular solemnity, he said, "I have something to say to you." When I was sented he proceeded, without one word of introduction: "I know General Grant better than any other person in the country can know him. It was my duty to study him, and I did so night and day, when I saw him and when I did not see him, and now I tell you what I know:

HE CANNOT GOVERN THIS COUNTRY."

The intensity of his manner and the positiveness of his judgment surprised me, for though I was not prepared for a judgment so strongly couched. At last, after some delay, occupied in meditating his remarkable statement, I observed, "What you say is very broad." "It is as true as it is broad," he replied prompty. I added, "You are tardy. Why did you wait till this late time? Why did you not say it before his nomination?" He answered that he was not consulted about the nomination and had no opportunity of expressing his opinion upon it, besides being much occupied at the time with his d

his opinion upon it, besides being much occupied at the time with his duties as Secretary of War and his contest with the President. I followed by saying:—"But you took part in the Presidential election and made a succession of speeches for him in Ohio and Pennsylvana." "I spoke," said he, "but I never introduced the name of General Grant. I spoke for the republican party and the republican cause." This was the last time I saw Mr. Stanton. A new days later I followed him to the grave where he are seened more and more and the Presidential office seened more and more a plaything and perquisite, this dying judgment of the great citizen who knew him so well haunted me night and day, and I now communicate it to my country, feeling that it is a legacy I have no right to withhold. Beyond the intrinsic interest from its author, it is not without value as testimony in considering how the President could have been led into that Quixotism of personal pretension which it is my duty to make the exposure, spreading been the Milonty pass without censure when it passes without observation. Insisting upon re-election the President challenges inquiry and puts himself upon the country. But even if his pressure for re-election did not menace the tranquility of the country it is important that the personal pretensions he has set up should be exposed, that no President hereafter may venture upon such ways and no Senator presume to defend them. The case is clear as noon.

Two TYPICAL INSTANCES.

In opening this catalogue I select two typical instances—nepotism and gift-taking officially compensate—each, so the republican in swell as great, from provision for a relative to pressing a treaty on a reluctant Senate or forcing a relation on a reluctant people.

Between these two typical instances I hesitate which to place foremost; but since the spotism of the Presidential office into a personal instrumentality not unlike the trunk of an election of this mature; since the similar tained by him in atter unconsciousness of its officers of t

other, appointed only two relations. Pray, sir, what words would Jefferson use if he were here to speak on the open and multifarious nepotism of our President. It was said that popes were not to neglect their own blood; that they should not show themselves worse than the beasts, not one of whom failed to caress his relations, and the class of bears and lions, the most ferocious of all, was cited as authority for this recognition of one's own blood. All this was soberly said, and it is doubtless true. Not even a pope can neglect his own blood; but help and charity must be at his own expense, and not at the expense of his country. In appointments to office, merit and not blood is the only just recommendation; that nepotism has ceased to lord itself in Rome; that no pontiff billets his relations upon the Church; that the appointing power or the Pope is treated as a public trust and not as a personal perquisite. This is the present testimony with regard to that government which knows from experience the baneful character of this abuse.

AMERICAN AUTHORITIES ON NEPOTISM.

The nepotism of Rome was little known in our country, and I do not doubt that Washington, when decilining to make the Presidential office a personal perquisite, was governed by that instinct of duty and patriotism which rendered him so pre-eminent. Through all the perils of a seven years' war he had battled with that kingly rule which elevates a whole family without regard to merit, fastening all upon the nation, and he had learned that this social system could find no place in a republic. Therefore he rejected the claims of relations and in nothing was his example more beautiful. In his latest blography Washington Irving records him as saying, 'So far as I know my own mind I would not be in the remotest degree influenced in making nominations, by motives arising from the ties of family or blood.' Then again he declared his purpose 'to discharge the duties of office with that impartiality and zeal for the public good which ought never to suier connections of blood or friend-ship to mingle so as to have the least sway on decisions of a public nature." This excellent rule of conduct is illustrated by the advice to his successor, with regard to the promotion of his son, John Quincy Adams. After giving it as his opinion that the latter was the most valuable character we had abroad and promising to be the ablost of all our diplomatic corps, Washington declares, "If he was now to be brought into that life, or into any other public walk, I could not upon the principle which has regulated my own conduct disapprove of the caution which is hinded at in the letter." Considering the importance of the son. In vindicating his conduct at a later day John Adams protested against what he called "THE HYPER-SUPERLATIVE VIETURE" of Washington, and inserted:—"A President ought not to appoint a man because he is his relative, nor ought he refuse or neglect to appoint him for that reason." With absolute certainty that the President is above the proposition of his own, however worthy, they will belie

I hope, my ever dear and honored mother, that you are fully convinced from my letters which you have before

To Jefferson's sense of public duty John Quincy Adams added the sense of personal delicacy—both strongly against the appointment of relations. To the irresistible judgment against this abuse a recent moralist of lofty nature—Theodore Parker—imparts new expression when he says:—'It is a dangerous and unjust practice.'' This is simple and monitory.

PRESIDENTIAL APOLOGIES FOR NEFOTISM.

Without the avalanche of testimony against this Presidential pretension, it is only necessary to glance at the defences sometimes set up. For such is the insensibility bred by Presidential example, that even this intolerable outrage is not without voices speaking for the President. Sometimes it is said that his salary, being far from royal, the people will not scan closely an attempt to help relatives; which, being interpreted, means that the President may supplement the pettiness of his salary by the appointing power. Let John Adams, who did not hesistate to bestow office upon a few relations of unquestioned merit, judge these pretensions. I quote his words:—"Every public man should be honestly paid for his services, but he should be restrained from every perquisite not known to the laws, and he should make no claims upon the gratitude of the public nor ever confer an office within his patronage upon a son, a brother, a friend, upon pretence that he is not paid for his services by the profits of his office." It is impossible to deny the soundness of this requirement and its completences as an answer to one of the Presidential prerogative without the observation of the review of the profits of his property.

"To THE VICTOR BELONG THE SPOILS,"

"These are strong words. The rule in its carly form could not fail to degrade any administration—the suppl

the inhibition and also the reason, when agree the observation shows to be true. Does not a gift blind the eyes of the wise? The indusince of gifts in the control by Pittarch in the life of a Spartan King, for he thought those ways of entrapping men by gifts and presents, which other kings use, distances and artificial, and it seemed to him to be the most noble method and most suitability of the most noble method and most suitability of the most noble method and most suitability of the control of the most of the control of th

The constitution testifies against the taking of gits by officers of the United States when it provides that no persons holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present or emolument from any king, prince of foreign State. The Congress, accept of any present or emolument from any king, prince of foreign State. The congress, accept of any present or emolument from any king, prince of foreign State. The state of the profit of the public conscience and the just aversion to any semblance of bargain and sale or bribery in the public service, some at least after he had been elected President, until the Galena tanner of a few hundred dollars a year, to borrow the words of my colleague, Mr. Wilson, one of his supporters, "is now rich in houses, lands and stock above his salary," being probably the richest President since George Washington. Notoriously he has appointed by Washington. A least two, if not three, of these Greeks, having no known position in the republican party or inducence in the country, have been selected as his counsellors in national affairs and heads of great departments of government. Again do I repeat the words of our Scriptures:—"A gift doth blind the eyes of the wise." Again the words of Washington:—"If I accepted this should not henceforward be considered a dependent?" Now does the case of the lirts Secretary of State merely as a compliment." But this is only another heads of party and the support of the words of washington; which we have been been selected as his consideration with an employed by the heads of the public service. The President

a common interest, is made a perquisite of the President.

APPROPRIATION OF THE OFFICES.

Marked among the spectacles which followed and kindred in character with the appropriation of the Cabinet as individual property, was the appropriation of the offices of the country, to which I refer in this place, even at the expense of repetition. Obscure and undeserving retainers, marriage connections, personal relatives, army associates, friends of unknown fame, and notable only as personal friends or friends of his relations evidently absorbed the Presidential mind during those months of obdurate reticence, when a generous people supposed the Cabinet to be the all-absorbing thought. Judging from the fact it would seem as if the chief and most spontaneous thought was how to exploit the appointing power to his own personal behoof. At this period the New York Custom House presented itself to the imagination and a letter was written consigning a military dependent the appointing power to his own personal behoof. At this period the New York Custom House presented itself to the imagination and a letter was written consigning a military dependent to the generosity of the Collector. You know the rest. Dr. Johnson, acting as executor in selling the distillery of Mr. Thrale, said, "We are not selling a parcel of tubs and oats, we are selling the potentiality of growing rich, beyond the dreams of avarice." If the President did not use the sounding pirase of the great English moralist, it is evident that his military dependent felt in that letter all the potentiality advertised in the earlier case, and he acted accordingly. It is not necessary to say that in these things there was a departure from the requirements of law, whether in the appointment of his Cabinet or of personal favorites even in return for personal benefactions, sithough it was plainly unrepublican, offensive and indefensible. But this same usurping spirit, born of an unitured egotism, brooking no restraint, showed itself in another class of transactions, to which I have already referred, where law and constitution were little regarded.

Assault on the safeguard of the Treasury—the original workmanship of Alexander Hamilton—being nothing less than the act to establish the Treasury Department. Here was an important provision, that no person appointed to any office instituted by the act shall, directly or indirectly, be concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce, and any person so offending was declared guilty of a high misdemeanor, and was to forfeit to the United States \$3,000, with removal from office, and forever thereafter to be incapable of holding any office under the United

cerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce, and any person so offending was declared guitty of a high misdemeanor, and was to forfeit to the United States, \$3,000, with removal from office, and forever thereafter to be incapable of holding any office under the United States. From the beginning this statue had never been questioned until it had acquired the character of fundamental law. And yet the President, by a special message, dated March 6, 1859, being the second day of his first service as a civilian, asked Congress to set it aside, so as to enable.

MR. STEWART, of NEW YORK.

Already nominated and confirmed as Secretary of the Treasury, to enter upon the duties of this office. This gentleman was unquestionably the largest merchapt who had fransacted business in our country? And his imports were of such magnitude as to clog the Custom House. If the statute was anything but one of those cobwebs which catch the weak but yield to the rich, this was the occasion for it; and the President should have yielded to no temptation against it. The indecorum of his efforts stands out more painfully eminent when it is considered that the merchant for whom he wished to set aside a time-honored safeguard was one of those from whom he had received gifts. Such was the accommodating disposition of the Senate that a oill exempting it Prestigntial penjeactor from the operation of the statute was promptly introduced and even read twice, until, as it seemed about to pass, I felt it my duty to object to its colizisteration, saying, according to the Globe:—'I think it ought to be most profoundly considered before it is acted on by the Senate." This objection caused its postponement. The country was scartled, By telegraph the general anxiety was communicated to Washington. At the next meeting of the Senate, three days later, the President surrounded himself with officers of the army, and substituted military forms for those for its life, detailing for this service members of his late stat. This Fresidenti

CONTINUED ON TENTH PAGE.